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## INFORMATION REPORT

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COUNTRY China

SUBJECT Role of Non-Communist Intellectuals  
and Liberals in Peiping

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1. Many major domestic policy decisions on the part of the Peiping Government represent compromises between proposals originally made by the Chinese Communist officials and counter-proposals made by liberals and intellectuals. The recent decision to cancel another issue of bonds, the recent moderation of taxes in the cities, the new decision to leave rich farmers alone in order to increase production, the decision not to start land reform in many parts of South China, and the policy of slowing down the pace of making over the universities all bear the marks of long discussions and arguments between government officials on the one hand and non-Party people such as liberals and intellectuals on the other. In many cases the recommendations of the non-Party persons overrode recommendations of Soviet advisers. For example, Soviet advisers wished to eliminate many liberal arts departments, such as sociology, in the universities, but the decision was made to preserve them.
2. On questions of domestic administration and reform, the Communists have won the support of the majority of liberals by giving earnest attention to their opinions and proposals. As a result 80 percent of the liberals fully support all the government's major reforms. (In contrast, 90 percent of these same liberals have many reservations on Peiping's foreign policy.) Many of these liberals are, however, by no means sycophants, but are on the contrary very critical of the government. Even so, the government has given them substantial positions in many of the important committees and departments in order to win their cooperation. This policy of the Communists has been very successful. For example, TA Chen, a Peiping professor concerned with labor problems, has always been very conservative, and his ideas have shown no similarity to Communist Party attitudes and ideology. Despite this he was given the post of Vice Chief of the Labor Department of the Central Government, and is regularly pressed not to consider the position an empty title but to devote time to actual department administration. This pressure has been great enough to involve him in difficulties with the university administration, which requires him to teach full time.
3. Most of the leading intellectuals of good academic reputation are working with the government in one way or another, regardless of political

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differences, with the sole exception of real reactionaries who are isolated but not physically punished. For example, Quentin PAU of Tsinghua University has been generally regarded as a right-wing member of the Democratic League.<sup>10</sup> He has, however, expressed sincere approval of all major government domestic policies, while maintaining hope that time will bring moderation, even to the extent of incorporating some aspects of Confucianism in Party ideology as it is mellowed by time. Those who do not join some kind of government work when invited are subjected to pressure of various kinds, including being regarded as of dubious political character. Even WONG Wen-hao, one-time premier of the Nationalist Government, is being contacted to come to Peking to work for the Communist Government, though he was on the first list of "war criminals." It is said that CHOU En-lai sent word to him to come to Peking to work on technical matters, and that verbal admission of his past political mistakes plus a lessening of his interest in political matters is all that is necessary for him.

4. The highest standard of living in Peking is enjoyed by professors and technical experts, whereas most Party members, even those on high level, are living on the low standard provided by the supply system (whereby food, clothing and housing are supplied by the government); and a recent government order stated that they can expect no raise this year since the budget must be balanced. The intellectuals are much impressed by this evident self-sacrifice.
5. Although there are a few isolated cases of corruption, the general spirit of the government and Party is clean. Cases of corruption are severely punished when discovered. Each government newspaper has a complaints page on which all people are encouraged to report instances of corruption. Many such cases are thus publicly aired. In addition, at a recent meeting of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, a thick volume of unpublished cases was distributed to each participant, with a request for criticisms and proposals to correct such practices.
6. Communist methods listed above have won the general cooperation of the liberals. They say that in the brief space of a year, the government has cleaned out most of the corruption, stabilized the currency, really unified the financial administration of the government, organized an effective army, brought about orderly administration of all the big cities, and restored the system of national transportation which had been in bad shape over a decade. They say a government capable of such performance in a year should have the cooperation and support of the people, and they say so with sincerity. Of course, they grumble about the limitation of personal freedoms and many other things. These they regard with both hope for improvement and fatalistic acquiescence. There are a few who fight these things, but they are not in the majority. In sum, most support the government with complete sincerity while at the same time offering criticism on many issues.
7. The above description applies to the position of the liberals and intellectuals on domestic matters, although 90 percent of them say, "We are all for reforms and progress, but why should we fight America for them?" Attitudes toward the Soviets in China vary from the opinion that they are sincere co-workers to the comment that they have too much power. That aside, the Chinese Communist Party is making a great effort to find factual evidence to convince the people that the United States is China's real enemy, with little success. Were a war to break out within a year, the people of China will probably be divided. The one factor that can really drive the people wholeheartedly to the Soviet side is the re-entry of Japanese troops into China in the event of a third world war.

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